

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
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ACDA-07 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 /067 W  
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P R 271445Z JAN 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1301  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION BERLIN UNN  
USMISSION NATO  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 0541

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, RO  
SUBJECT: CEAUSESCU'S SHIFTS PARTY AND STATE CADRES

1. SUMMARY. IN MOST MASSIVE PERSONNEL SHAKE-UP IN YEARS (COMPLETE DETAILS OF WHICH ASSUME AVAILABLE VIA FBIS), RCP POLITICAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (POLEXCO) JANUARY 25 ENLARGED RCP PERMANENT BUREAU FROM FIVE TO NINE MEMBERS; ADDED ADDITIONAL CC SECRETARY TO BRING TOTAL TO TEN, THE LARGEST EVER; MADE FOUR MINISTERIAL CHANGES, AS WELL AS SEVERAL IMPORTANT SUB-MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENTS; AND SHIFTED TEN OF FORTY JUDET FIRST SECRETARIES. SHEER VOLUME OF  
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CHANGES MADE IS IMPRESSIVE AND INDICATIVE OF CEAUSESCU'S ALMOST TOTAL FREEDOM OF ACTION IN THIS REGARD. HOWEVER, SHIFTS DO NOT SEEM TO REPRESENT ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN RCP'S TOP LEADERSHIP, ALTHOUGH RECENTLY INCREASING PROMINENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF RCP SECRETARIES BURTICA AND VERDET IS EVEN MORE EVIDENT AS BOTH

WERE RAISED TO PERMANENT BUREAU. CHANGES INDICATE THAT CEAUSESCU CONTINUES TO SEARCH FOR THE ELUSIVE OPTIMUM "OPERATIONAL" MIX OF PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATION. WE EXPECT A FEBRUARY CC PLENUM TO RATIFY THESE CHANGES, AS WELL AS TO MAKE FURTHER ONES. MFA SHIFTS ARE ALSO EXPECTED AND CURRENT RUMORS HAVE PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR VASILE PUNGAN SOON REPLACING MACOVESCU AS FBEMIGN MINISTER. END SUMMARY.

2. AN ENLARGED PERMANENT BUREAU.( ACCORDING TO SEVERAL SOURCES, DEPFONMIN PACOSTE AMONG THEM, ENLARGEMENT OF PERMANENT BUREAU (WHICH NOW IS SAME SIZE AS PARTY PRESIDUM ABOLISHED IN MARCH 1974) WAS NECESSITATED BY NEED TO INCLUDE A BROADER RANGE OF SUBJECT AREAS AND CLEARER FOCUS OF RESPONSIBILITY IN PARTY'S TOP LEADERSHIP BODY. ENLARGEMENT PROVIDES FOR BETTER "OPERATIONAL" MIX. THUS BURTICA (PROPAGANDA, EDUCATION AND CULTURE), ELENA CEAUSESCU (CADRES PLUS SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY), RADULESCU (FINANCE), AND VERDET (PARTY AFFAIRS) JOIN ANDREI (FOREIGN AFFAIRS), OPREA (DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND PRODATMION), PATAN (FOREIGN TRADE), MANESCU (STATE AFFAIRS), AND CEAUSESCU. THIS LEAVES EMIL BOBU AS MOST CONSPICUOUS LEADERFSIP FIGAQE ABSENT FROHOPERMANENT BUREAU. LIKEWISE, AGRICULTURE IS MOST NEGLECTED IMPORTANT SUBJECT AREA, ASSUMING CEAUSESCU CONTINUES TO KEEP MILITARY AND SECURITY AFFAIRS FOR HIMSELF, AT LEAST AT THIS LEVEL. HAVING RECENTLY TAKEN OVER

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CULTURAL AFFA LS FROM LONG REPUTED RIVAL DUMITRU POPESCU, AND NOW HAVING BEEN RAISED TO PERMANENT BUREAU AS WELL AS BECOMING DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, CORNEL BURTICA IS ONE OF CLEAR WINNERS IN THIS REORGANIZATION. VERDET'S ELEVATION TO PERMANENT BUREAU IS ALSO A REFLECTION OF HIS RECENT GREATER VISIBILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY, PARTICULARLY DURING RECENT BREZHNEV VISIT HERE. ELENA CEAUSESCU'S PRESENCE ON PERMANENT BUREAU WAS PERHAPS INEVITABLE, BQ IS NOT LIKELY TO ADD TO HER POPULARITY.

3. THE SECRETARIAT. DIMBOVITA FIRST SECRETARY ION STANESCU, A FORMER MINISTER OF INTERIOR, RETURNS AS A NEW RCP CC SECRETARY, PROBABLY FOR MILITARY AND SECURITY AFFAIRS. HIS APPOINTMENT MAY HAVE BEEN FORESHADOWED BY DECEMBER GNA CHANGES IN WHICH HE WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF GNA'S COMMISSION ON DEFENSE.

4. OTHER CHANGES. FOUR NEW MINISTERS AND TEN NEW JUDET FIRST SECRETARIES WERE APPOINTED. WE WILL PROVIDE BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON THESE AND OTHER CHANGES TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE IN FOLLOW-UP AIRGRAM. ONE OF MORE INTERESTING REORGANIZATIONS WAS DECISION TO MERGE TRADE UNIONS AND MINISTRY OF LABOR AT TOP. BOTH WILL BE HEADED BY TRADE UNIONS BOSS GHEORGHE PANA. DEPFONMIN PACOSTE REMARKED TO AMBASSADOR THAT SIMILAR STRUCTURE WAS FREQUENTLY FOUND IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, HOWEVER, IT IS UNIQUE IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD AND WOULD SEEM TO HAVE AT LEAST SOME IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS. SEVERAL MINISTERIAL LEVEL CHANGES FOCUSED ON ENERGY SECTOR, E.G. NEW MINISTERS OF ELECTRICAL ENERGY AND PETROLEUM, AND MAY BE INDICATIVE OF CEAUSESCU'S DISSATISFACTION AND WORRY OVER IMPLEMENTATION OF ENERGY CONSERVATION MEASURES, AS CONFIDENTIAL

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WELL AS COUNTRY'S FUTURE ENERGY RESOURCES.

5. MORE TO COME. WE UNDERSTAND THERE WILL BE FEBRUARY CC PLENUM WHICH WILL RATIFY PRESENT CHANGES AND IS LIKELY TO MAKE FURTHER ONES. JANUARY 25 POLEXCO COMMUNIQUE ALSO INDICATED THAT FURTHER APPOINTMENTS WERE TO BE MADE SOON. FOREIGN MINISTRY CHANGES ARE ALSO RUMORED, AMONG THEM REPLACEMENT OF FONMIN MACOVESCU BY PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR AND FORMER AMBASSADOR TO LONDON VASILE PUNGAN AND APPOINTMENT OF MIRCEA MALITA TO LTTNG VACANT POSITION OF FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER. RUMORED AMBASSADORIAL SHIFTS INCLUDE FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER CORNELIU MANESCU TO PARIS AND VICE PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY OCTAVIAN GROZA TO VIENNA.

6. COMMENT: CEAUSESCU HAS ONCE AGAIN RESORTED TO HIS TIME HONORED POLICY OF "CADRE ROTATION", THIS TIME WITH SOMETHING OF A VENGEANCE, IN HIS ELUSIVE EFFORT TO STIMULATE A LAGGING ECONOMY AND AN INDIFFERENT POPULACE. HIS ABILITY TO MAKE THE CHANGES SO SUDDENLY AND WITH AN APPARENT DISREGARD FOR EXISTING CONSTITUTIONAL OR PARTY STRICTURES, E.G., THE "FICTION" THAT THE GNA SHOULD ELECT THE PROSECUTOR GENERAL OR PRESIDENT OR THE SUPREME TRIBUNAL, ARE AMPLE TESTIMONY TO WHO RULES IN ROMANIA. THERE SEEMS LITTLE PATTERN TO MANY OF THE CHANGES OTHER THAN TO FIND A MORE "OPERATIVE" MIX OF PEOPLE AND POSITIONS. IN OTHER CASES THE CHANGES ILLUSTRATE THE PRESENT ORGANIZATIONAL CON-

FUSION, E.G. A DECEMBER 1976 DECREE (396/1976)  
ESTABLISHED ONE MINISTER-STATE SECRETARY  
POSITION IN THE FOREIGN TRADE MINISTRY. NOW  
CEAUSESCU HAS NAMED TWO MINISTER-STATE SECRETARIES  
TO THE MINISTRY, HARDLY A MONTH LATER. IN ADDITION  
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THE NUMBER OF PARTY SECRETARIES AND DEPUTY PRIME  
MINISTERS IS THE LARGEST EVER, PERHAPS A RE-  
FLECTION OF CEAUSESCU'S RELUCTANCE TO DEMOTE  
LEADING PARTY FIGURES, PREFERRING TO PROMOTE  
AND LIMIT THEM INSTEAD.  
BARNES

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## Message Attributes

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